World Alliance News Letter

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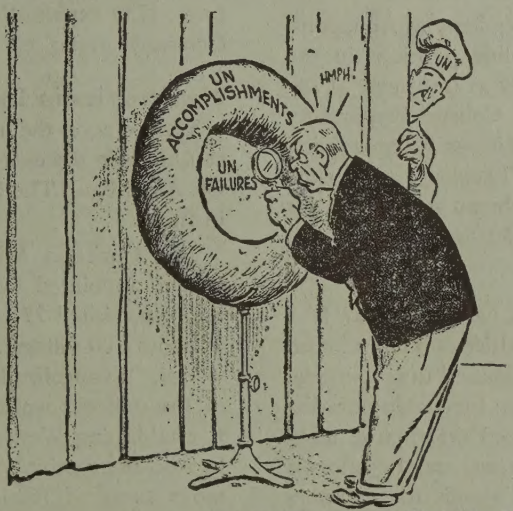
THE RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

ALTHOUGH national surveys have shown that the American people generally support the work of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, this support is not necessarily very articulate or well-informed. In both these areas the nation's churches and synagogues have an important contribution to make.

Can our religious leaders better express the religious and moral principles underlying the establishment of the United Nations? Have they adequately interpreted to their constituents the religious principles of peace, world brotherhood and mutual aid which are the foundation of the UN? These principles are central in the Judeo-Christian tradition.



—ALEXANDER in *The Philadelphia Bulletin*

"Why Is the Doughnut Less Interesting?"

Religious leaders are necessarily concerned with the meaning of symbols. Throughout history such symbols as the scroll or the cross have dramatized to men the living history and presence of their faith, and men have given their lives under these standards. The tragedy of such symbols, however, is that they have also served in wars between men and nations. With the terrible destructiveness of war in our time, there is a need for symbols to express the desire of men for a world community, living in peace. Many churches and synagogues across the United States have understood this need and have brought into their places of worship the UN flag so as to stress the UN's spiritual significance in our divided world, and to dramatize its relation to our faith.

The themes of peace, brotherhood and mutual aid also have a place in the worship life of the churches and synagogues. Many clergymen, in addition to an occasional sermon in this area, have introduced special prayers for greater international understanding and cooperation. Often prayers are said for world leaders, and for the United Nations and its international corps of workers. The Church Peace Union's "United Nations Week" leaflet includes both a prayer for the United Nations and world peace, and a brief discussion of three Biblical references which might be used as themes in a religious service. Such prayers can deepen and broaden spiritual life and instill a sense of mutuality with the hopes of men everywhere.

The themes of peace, brotherhood, and mutual aid are frequently developed in the organizational life of churches and synagogues in connection with United Nations and world affairs programs. The importance of discussion groups can hardly be overemphasized as a means of developing informed citizens who can interpret from the perspective and insight of their moral principles, both national and international questions. Women's groups have expressed a deep concern for the welfare of people everywhere in relief and economic development programs. Refugees have been integrated into communities with the help of local churches and synagogues. The international interest of the community can also be broadened by contacts with foreign students and lecturers under church auspices, and by films. International bazaars can earn money for missions, hospitals, or other projects overseas, and can also point out a community's stake in foreign trade and foreign aid. Sunday School teachers can awaken in children an international interest by tracing the world history and growth of their faith. Special activities for them might focus on aiding the UN Children's Fund program.

By stressing such symbols as the United Nations flag, by emphasizing in worship services the religious principles of peace, brotherhood and mutual aid, and by increasing the community's awareness of world affairs through the organizational life of the church and synagogue, religious leaders can stimulate interest in and responsibility for progress towards a greater measure of world community. Their leadership is deeply needed. Their influence is considerable.

ITEMS OF INTEREST

New Church Peace Union Field Director

Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, President of the Board of Trustees of The Church Peace Union, has announced the appointment of the Rev. William J. Cook as Field Director of the Union. Mr. Cook will be organizing workshops and seminars on the community level, and will also be working with the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO in its program of Citizen Consultations on the subject, "Our Moral and Spiritual Resources for International Cooperation."

Mr. Cook comes to the Union after several years as a pastor of Methodist churches in Franklin and Medford, Mass. He was Chairman of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Northeast Conference of The Methodist Church, a member of the Department of Social Relations of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, and Director of the Refugee Relief Program for the Boston area of The Methodist Church.

A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Mr. Cook served three years in line positions in the U.S. Navy, including a tour of duty as instructor at the U.S. Naval School Academy and College Preparatory at Bainbridge, Md. He received his seminary training at Boston University's School of Theology, and while there was awarded the Oxnam-Liebman scholarship for the advancement of interracial understanding.

The Will to Peace

In the new Church Peace Union pamphlet, *The Will to Peace,* Dr. Miles H. Krumbine criticizes the pessimism of those who believe war is inevitable, and the superficial optimism of those who believe in an inevitable paradise on earth. Dr. Krumbine is convinced that a true reign of law is a reasonable goal to pursue, and he offers a constructive approach to it which avoids the extremes of pessimism and optimism. Believing that much of the initiative in the struggle for peace falls to the United States, he discusses the qualities the nation must increasingly develop — justice, humility, and compassion — to help lead the world towards peace. As Dr. Russell Henry Stafford, President of Hartford Seminary Foundation, states in the foreword, justice, humility and compassion "are religious principles; without religion they cannot be sustained and spread. But in these principles all the schools of the Hebrew-Christian tradition are united." Dr. Krumbine points out the responsibility of the nation's religious leaders in instilling these principles in their communities.

Dr. Krumbine, who is a trustee of The Church Peace Union, organized and supervised 12 discussion groups of 20 persons each on international problems during his pastorate at the Plymouth Congregational Church of Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio. A popular lecturer and preacher, he spent a year in Europe after his retirement from the church in 1953, after 23 years of service.

The 69-page pamphlet is available from The Church Peace Union for 50 cents.

ILO Trains Blind

Blind Egyptians in Cairo are now wearing light summer clothing woven by themselves and tailored by other handicapped persons as the result of a training program established with the help of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The blind are also being taught other trades such as basket and brush making, carpet and rug weaving, shorthand, typing and telephone switchboard operation. The center has helped over 60 blind Egyptians in its first 33 months, and has also served as an instruction center for Egyptians in rehabilitation techniques. It is a demonstration project for Middle Eastern countries where the incidence of blindness is very high as a result of trachoma and other diseases. ILO expert Walter G. Wagner, a citizen of West Germany, organized the center.

Missionaries in India Under Fire

The role of the missionary in India is undergoing considerable discussion there, according to reports from Dr. A. A. Paul, The Church Peace Union representative in India.

The Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Madhya Pradesh State Government, visited 77 centers and contacted 11,360 people in about 700 villages. In its findings the Committee observed, "Evangelization in India appears to be a part of the uniform world policy to revive Christendom by re-establishing Western supremacy and is not prompted by spiritual motives." The Committee noted that "enormous sums of foreign money flow into the country . . . for educational, medical and evangelistic activities. It was out of such funds . . . that in Surguja the Lutherans and other proselytizing agencies were able to secure nearly 4,000 converts." The Committee suspected the Christian objective to be the creation of Christian minority pockets so as to disrupt the solidarity of non-Christian societies.

The Committee called for the establishment of a united independent Christian church in India, independent of foreign support. It recommended that the use of medical or other professional service be prohibited by law from use as a direct means of making conversions, that the Government alone have the responsibility to conduct orphanages and social services for the backward classes, that the circulation of literature meant for religious propaganda be prohibited unless it has the approval of the State Government, and that programs of social or economic uplift by religious bodies should receive prior state approval.

RECOMMENDED MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Russia Revisited by Philip E. Mosely. (*Foreign Affairs,* October 1956.)

A report on the situation in Russia, based on a trip to the Soviet Union last summer.

The Christian Citizen and Party Participation by Kenneth L. Smith. (*Social Progress,* June 1956.)

An analysis of the Christian's responsibility in the political arena. This entire issue of *Social Progress* is designed to stimulate pre-election thought and discussion.

The World Community and Suez and **Aswan and Suez** by Vera Micheles Dean. (*Foreign Policy Bulletin,* respectively issues of September 1, 1956 and September 15, 1956.)

Questions discussed are: Did Nassar Act Illegally? Why Did the West Threaten Force? What Can Be Done Next? Why Did Nasser Do It?

The Malevolent Genie That Nasser Set Free by Claire Sterling. (*The Reporter,* September 20, 1956.)

An illuminating interpretation of the Suez situation.

The Burden of Algeria by Robert Barrat. (*The Commonweal,* September 21, 1956.)

A stimulating analysis of France's economic, financial, social difficulties arising from its relations with Algeria.

John Foster Dulles: A Very Complicated Man by Joseph C. Harsch. (*Harper's Magazine,* September 1956.)

In addition to analyzing Mr. Dulles' methods of operation as Secretary of State, Mr. Harsch discusses Dulles' skill in making a case, his lack of administrative flair and his "adaptability."

The Candidates' Religious Views by Ernest W. Lefever. (*The Christian Century,* September 19, 1956.)

This interesting article "concerns primarily those religious beliefs of theirs which have a direct bearing on their understanding of politics, and is based only on their views as expressed in speeches and writings."

Disarmament: The Bargain Counter by William R. Frye (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* September 1956.)

The fourth progress report on disarmament by Mr. Frye, United Nations correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor.*

Our Foreign Policy Is Everyone's Destiny by Barbara Ward. (*The New York Times Magazine,* September 16, 1956.)

Miss Ward suggests the main lines of a responsible U.S. foreign policy in an election year.

His Eminence Valerian Cardinal Gracias demanded that the findings of the Committee be proved, and stated that foreign Christian missions were in India for only one purpose — to spend themselves in service. Foreign missions in India, he stated, represented the voluntary contributions of the poor from other countries to the poor in India.

CARE Begins 1956 Drive

CARE has launched its 1956 Food Crusade and hopes to send 22 lb. food packages to 5 million families in 18 countries. Each package will contain enough vital supplemental food for a family of four for a month. Contributions will be welcomed by CARE, 660 First Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Michigan Trade Survey

More than eight out of ten Michigan workers are employed by companies with a "positive" interest in foreign trade, according to a recent survey by the Library of Congress of 76 per cent of all manufacturing workers in the state. Businesses with a "positive" interest in foreign trade were defined as those relying on exports for an important share of their business, or imports for their production.

A total of 1,652 companies employing 807,000 workers replied to the survey's questionnaires. Of these, 43 per cent of the state's firms employing 84 per cent of the state's workers had a positive interest in trade. Besides the automobile industry, five other industries — machinery, fabricated metals, primary metals, electrical machinery, and transportation equipment — demonstrated a positive foreign trade interest far outweighing any fear of import competition. There were also five industries in which concern over import competition outweighs any "positive" interest in trade: chemicals, lumber and millwork, leather products, instruments and petroleum products. The total employment of these industries accounts for about seven per cent of the state's manufacturing workers.

Rights for Women

Advances in Women's Rights, a United Nations Review Reprint, is available for 15 cents from the Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. The booklet describes women's progress in obtaining nationality rights in foreign marriages, equal pay for equal work, economic and educational opportunities, family law benefits, etc. The role of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in working for these advances is reviewed.

At the United Nations

- Japan is launching, with UNESCO aid, an experiment in the use of television for rural adult education. Forty community viewing groups or "teleclubs" will form in schools and civic centers to see TV demonstrations in the field of agriculture. A similar project met with success in France in 1954-55, and a French expert will direct the Japanese project.
- The Food and Agriculture Organization is studying the possibility of establishing a World Food Bank. An internationally owned and operated food reserve might aid to underdeveloped countries until local food supplies could be paid for through economic development.

ETHICS AND FOREIGN POLICY (1)

KENNETH W. THOMPSON

A social scientist who presumes to assess a problem as broad and deep as ethics and foreign policy ought to lay bare the baggage of assumptions and prejudices he carries into the discussion. The reader may accept or reject this premise but I would suppose that no one would quarrel with the view that this topic thrusts before us one of the most vital, unsolved problems in Western civilization. This is so because paradoxically ethics and international morality are essential to peace, order and justice in international relations, and at the same time potentially a source of confusion, conflict and intensification of strife.

TWO EXTREME POSITIONS

So far as political scientists are concerned, the history of serious discussions of the problem has oscillated between two extremes. Either publicists and scholars have overrated the influence of ethics on international politics and ignored the more troublesome issues that arise or they have fallen prey to cynicism and disillusionment and to the denial of the role of moral purpose in the conduct of states. The problem is to test whether or not we can chart a course between the Scylla and Charybdis of these extremes. I would suggest that we look first at the negative side of our problem to ascertain the pitfalls and the difficulties of an ethical approach to politics. My excuse in proceeding in this way is the belief that truth sometimes derives from the perception of falsity, that by finding out what a subject is not, we may cut away the underbrush that obscures it from view. My aim is to trace the perimeters of our problem, box it in and attempt to observe it in a more meaningful context. By illuminating what the proper influence of ethics on foreign policy is not, we may understand what it is.

ETHICS AND ABSOLUTE PRINCIPLES

First, an attempt to conceive ethics in absolute terms is untenable in foreign relations. Broad moral principles seldom if ever can be said to furnish a direct, precise and unambiguous guide to action. For example, the injunction "Thou Shalt Not Kill" has little immediate relevance when a nation is plunged into total war. Less ultimate moral and political principles such as a belief in the common interests of, say, all the workers of the world scarcely deters British and German laborers from going to war against one another when their nations see their interests in conflict. There is another absolute principle with which Americans are familiar. Particularly in the aftermath of World War I, we blithely assumed that the creation of democratic regimes everywhere would remove the threat of conflict. This faith has been cruelly challenged by the rise of totalitarian democracies, by the ability of tyrants to manipulate democratic machinery and symbols to their own selfish ends, by the pattern of conquest evolved during the French Revolution and by the annexationist dreams of the German liberals of 1848.

Second, the identification of morality in individual relations with international morality is bound to be misleading. One of our greatest Presidents who can hardly be dismissed for lack of moral fervor was Woodrow Wilson. In a lecture at Princeton he declared: "Morality is a great deal bigger than law. The individual morality is the sense of right or wrong of one man. The social morality must strike an average. This is where reformers make their tragic mistake. There can be no compromise in individual morality but there has to be a compromise, an average, in social morality. There is indeed an element of morality in the very fact of compromise in social undertakings." In this same vein we recall the words of Cavour: "If we had done for ourselves what we did for the state, what scoundrels we would have been."

MORAL MAN AND IMMORAL SOCIETY

Reinhold Niebuhr has distinguished between moral man and immoral society and while he has subsequently modified the sharp lines of this dichotomy, he would hold, I believe, to the "hidden truth" which this distinction lays bare. Accordingly, those virtues of gentleness, magnanimity, love and trust which enrich the dimensions of our family life at its best and are possible in the more intimate communities in which we move and have our being, must be viewed with circumspection, reserve and uncertainty on the world stage where states through power and force press their claims and counterclaims. We may as moral beings deplore and renounce the evil portents of a massive armaments program but who among us, if responsible for the nation's security, would have persisted in meeting Soviet power through compassion and the repudiation of force? Or who confronted by the threat to Western civilization of the Nazi juggernaut would have turned aside an alliance with the equally oppressive Russian communist regime?

SYSTEMS OF SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS

Third, the greatest menace to civilization today is probably conflict between giant organized systems of self-righteousness. The change whose influence has been most profound and far reaching on the conduct of international relations in the last half century is not the technological revolution or even the revolt of three-quarters of the world's people against so-called colonial domination. Instead it has been the fragmentation of a formerly cohesive international society into morally self-sufficient national communities. This change has brought civilization to the threshold of a twilight era in international morality. Most tragic of all, our peril has been but dimly seen, or, when seen and comprehended, is covered over with the veil of a dominant secular creed of progress and the perfectability of man. It gives us offense to be told that spectacular advances in engineering, science, and invention have not been matched by the progress of international society. Nonetheless we need to remind ourselves that this is the case.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and to a lessening degree up to the First World War, international morality addressed itself to a body of aristocratic sovereigns who spoke the same language, shared common cultural values, were bound by family ties, and, in a word, were members of the same club. Moreover these

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rulers were served by diplomats and soldiers whose sense of dynastic or national loyalty was never so great as to exclude other employment. As late as 1862 Bismarck, having expressed his regret on being recalled as Prussian Ambassador to Russia, was invited by the czar to join the Russian diplomatic service. He reports that he declined the offer "courteously." One can but contrast this with the wave of personal embarrassment or public indignation that would accompany a similar offer by Mr. Khrushchev to Ambassador Bohlen. Pensions and "gifts" were commonly awarded to negotiators upon the successful completion of a treaty or alliance and often furnished an effective incentive for coming to understanding with the other side. The respect and dependence members of this aristocratic elite felt for one another led them to observe the rules of the game. Beyond this their goals were simple and limited. They might seek a piece of territory, a bit of glory or greater power and prestige. But the whole world was not their oyster and they accepted the fact that they were partners in an international order that "gentlemen" were pledged to preserve.

The Aristocratic Leadership Fraternity

This aristocratic fraternity of leaders who preferred speaking with one another than with their own peoples has passed and in its place is a leadership responsible to the popular will. In consequence we have witnessed the rapid turnover of diplomatists who deal with one another. The popular selection of officials with all its potentialities for good has shattered the community of interests and the imponderable ties of loyalty and affection on which a crude but unmistakable international morality had been based virtually from the seventeenth century until the eve of World War I.

Bonds Between Modern Leaders

Lest we too hastily dismiss the benefits that can flow from these facts we need only reflect that Anglo-American unity was more recently served by the comradeship of a Churchill and an Eisenhower and that the former's dream enunciated as early as his Fulton Speech in 1947 was perceived and carried forward by the President in the Meeting at the Summit at Geneva. Nor can we discount the bonds that unite our present leader with certain prominent Russian military and political leaders. Contrast this with the task of Ambassador Lodge working in the United Nations without benefit of these impalpable ties even with some of our Latin American and European allies. Or note the mass exodus from Washington following 1952 of some of our most experienced diplomatists, e.g., that remarkable group surrounding George F. Kennan and Paul Nitze in the Policy Planning Staff. Furthermore, you will recall that in the 18 months from July 1945 to 1947, the U.S. had three secretaries of state and of all policy-making officials of the State Department, i.e., under and assistant secretaries of state, in October 1945, none was still in office two years later.

The Disadvantages of Rapid Turnover

One need not despair of democracy to concede that this phenomenon of the rapid fluctuation of personnel with its consequences both for continuity of policy and community with the leaders of other nations whose membership is similarly in flux presents us with a major problem. Observing this trend, one authority writes: "Ethical rules have their seat in the consciences of individual men. Government by clearly identifiable men who can be held personally accountable for their acts is therefore the precondition for the existence of an effective system of international ethics. Where responsibility for government is widely distributed among a great number of individuals with different conceptions as to what is morally required in international affairs, or with no such conception at all, international morality as an effective system of restraints upon international policy becomes impossible." Dean Roscoe Pound has added: "It might be maintained plausibly that a moral order among states was nearer attainment in the middle of the eighteenth century than it is today."

The Lack of A Moral Consensus

This factor of a passing international corps of leaders is but a sympton of an infinitely more profound transformation of international society. The fabric of moral consensus which existed among approximately equal political entities has been rent by the rise of separate and self-contained moral systems which today take the form of national political religions. These changes have weakened to the point of ineffectiveness supranational moral rules of conduct and have endowed particular national ethical systems with universal validity. We find ourselves today in a situation not too dissimilar from that obtaining domestically within this country prior to the Civil War. The sanctities of religion and science are invoked to show that one course of action, one nation's program will execute a divine mandate. Nations go to war not in dispute over territorial boundaries but to make the world safe for democracy or to destroy human wickedness incarnated in evil men like Hitler and Mussolini. Wars of righteousness in which compromise and limited objectives become impossible are the global counterpart of the wars of religion or the conflict between freedom and slavery within the States. Conflicts become crusades, compromises are treason and the establishment of justice demands the spread of a certain political system.

Wars for Righteous Principles

The first inkling of this development of war as a clash between organized systems of self-righteousness came with the contest between Napolean and the nations that combined against him. On both sides the war was fought in the name of principles claiming universal validity, namely the principles of the French Revolution and those of legitimacy. Wilson's crusade for democracy falls into the same revolutionary tradition however humane its goals. Today we confront the most extreme and demoniac of political religions, Soviet communism, which on the basis of its scientific pretensions proclaims a universal system determined objectively by historical materialism to be the proper form of government for peoples everywhere here and now. What is at stake today in the world conflict is a system of beliefs and ethical convictions. Gone is the era of the eighteenth century described by Gibbon in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in which wars were "temperate and indecisive contests" which "cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners."

(continued on page 7)

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

The Suez and the UN

There are two primary issues involved in the present dispute over the Suez Canal. First is the question of the legal right of Egypt to nationalize the canal. For decades, under treaty rights obtained from the old Turkish Empire, the Suez Company has operated the waterway, fixed tolls for shipping and trained pilots. The legality of Egypt's seizure depends on what kind of a company is operating the canal. Is it a private company? If so, Egypt has a right to nationalize it for proper compensation and subject it to Egyptian law. Or is it an international company, as the British have claimed, and not subject to nationalization and national law? Many eminent international lawyers such as Quincy Wright believe the former to be the case. It would be a simple matter to submit this question to the International Court of Justice for a sound ruling.

The second problem raised by Egypt's act is most serious. In Egyptian hands, will the Suez be open to the ships of all nations on a fair and equal basis? Nasser says "Yes". Some other countries are fearful, feeling that the temper of Egyptian nationalism may lead to unequal treatment and even denial of the use of the canal to one or more countries. In this respect, fears are not unfounded. Egypt has refused to allow passage of ships bound for Israel, or Israeli ships, through the canal. A Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951 took note of this violation of the Suez Convention of 1888 and condemned Egypt's action. The great powers, however, did not make any move nor exert any pressure to open up the canal to Israel. It is only now, with a real or imagined threat to their own use of the canal, that they are exercised.

It may be that the Suez issue should have been brought to the UN in its early stages. As the weeks have passed, it has become increasingly difficult for the West and Egypt to maintain a position from which they can negotiate. But nations have not been eager to take the dispute to the UN. Admittedly, Suez is a problem with which the Security Council can wrestle. But there are other tools for negotiation at the UN as well. The UN, however, is a group of sovereign nations and if they are not willing to use its tools, it remains powerless.

Should the present Security Council debates fail to produce a satisfactory solution, as seems likely, the parties to the dispute should exhaust all other devices within the UN.

Atom Parley Convened

Representatives of eighty nations are convened at UN headquarters to consider articles of incorporation for an international atomic energy agency to give body to President Eisenhower's 1953 atoms-for-peace proposal. The Soviet Union, having earlier abandoned its insistence on a nuclear weapons prohibition, is participating.

The parley faces two major obstacles. India, representing the "have not" nations and possibly with the backing of the U.S.S.R., has announced it will work for a liberalization of draft sections dealing with inspection and control to avoid placing the program in a "straitjacket." The U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain, and possibly France, would not be subject to the controls.

The second roadblock is the governing board's composition. This board, with a membership of about twenty-three, will have five permanent members from the atomic energy producing nations. Other members will be selected from eight areas not having representation among the five; two from a slate including Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Portugal; countries able to provide technical assistance; and ten from the membership at large. India has indicated it will present an alternative plan.

Gold Coast to Join Family of Nations

The United Kingdom has promised independence to the Gold Coast, one of its small but advanced African territories, on March 6, 1957. At that time, it will become a full-fledged member of the British Commonwealth with complete control over its national affairs. Britain will be represented in the new country by a governor general. The name Gold Coast is to be changed to Ghana, its historic name.

At present, the Gold Coast has a population of about 4.5 million. In its northern area are large numbers of Moslems. The economy and politics are dominated by the coastal and forest people of the south. Formidable problems face the country. Illiteracy is widespread, particularly in the north. There are few trained personnel to take over the governing functions of the state. There are pressing economic problems, not the least of which is the lack of adequate port facilities. The standard of living must be raised as the *Gold Coast Weekly* states: ". . . only if subsistence demands can be met will the Gold Coast be able to afford the luxury of parliamentary political organs."

Fortunately, the independence movement has been led by one of the most astute of African politicians, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah. He has hastened his attempts to increase internal harmony by his conciliatory actions toward the political opposition. He has said that free debate will be allowed in the legislative assembly upon the formation of a national constitution.

Interestingly, one of the eleven UN Trust Territories, British Togoland, has voted for federation with the Gold Coast. When the UN General Assembly approves the termination of the trust agreement, British Togoland will join her neighbor to the west and a half million more Africans will be independent.

PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS

United Nations Week

United Nations Week, October 21-27, will be celebrated in thousands of U.S. communities this month. Religious groups have a vital role to play in fostering those principles of peace and brotherhood underlying the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. The article on page 1 outlines certain special contributions churches and synagogues may make to increase public understanding of the UN and its work.

New Handbook on Social Action

In *The Good Samaritan,* a new handbook on social and economic relations, Dr. Clair M. Cook outlines a philosophy of social action which local church groups might find a stimulating discussion guide. Dr. Cook believes that social action is "the vehicle often most suited to the vital expression of our faith today. He discusses the political application of such religious principles as that of human brotherhood, voluntary mutual aid among people, and the right use of the gifts of God. He cites six areas of major economic concern, including the state of the economic system, ethical problems in work, union responsibilities, and the farm problem.

Two other chapters deal with Christian action in improving race relations and in civic welfare. The problems of advancing integration are discussed, and the positive experiences of local churches are cited. Such civic questions as civil liberties, housing, education, etc., are also analysed. The booklet contains a chapter on organizational techniques, and a bibliography. Order the 77-page pamphlet from the Board of Social and Economic Relations, The Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago. Ill.

UNICEF Greeting Cards

Five colorful designs portray festivals of different continents in the 1956 series of UN Children's Fund greeting cards. The cards are in full color, and may be obtained with or without an inside "Season's Greetings" inscription. The cards are only available in boxes of tens (two each of the five designs) and sell for $1 a box.

Through UNICEF this year over 35 million children and expectant and nursing mothers in 95 countries and territories will benefit directly from the voluntary contributions of individuals, organizations and nations. But 600 million more still lack adequate food and protection against disease. All the proceeds from UNICEF cards go to provide milk, drugs, vaccines, equipment for maternal and child welfare centers, or other supplies. Every $1 profit from the cards enables UNICEF to protect two children from blindness, or to give 95 hungry children a glass of milk every day for a week, or protects 100 children against tuberculosis. Order cards from UNICEF Greeting Card Fund, United Nations, New York.

Ethics and Foreign Policy *(continued from page 5)*

Righteousness plainly has a place in an assessment of the behavior of states. Yet the patterns of history are more complex than this. For example, we are often told that Germany has invaded France four times within a century and a quarter. Who among us remembers that on the first occasion it was England and Russia which finally induced the German powers to join them in rolling back the tide of Napoleonic empire? Who recalls that on a second occasion France made clear that if it won the War of 1870, it had in mind in Belgium, Luxembourg, and elsewhere a more scandalous aggrandizement than Bismarck ever dreamed of? Who is aware that the crime of Alsace-Lorraine begins not in 1871 but with the aggressions of Louis XIV? Multiply these instances a hundred-fold and the whole tragically complex pattern of history lies before you.

Needed — A System of International Order

It has been said that the alternative to wars of righteousness is a recognition or restatement of a system of internatonal order. If you are fighting for Persian oil or Alsace-Lorraine it is better to say this than to talk in absolute terms of right and wrong. ". . . if it is your desire to assert the existence or the authority of such an order, you are the party which must refrain from conceiving the ends of war as though you were fighting barbarian hordes entirely outside the system. And however bitter [and justifiably] you may feel against the enemy of the moment, [isn't it] wiser not to be responsible for introducing a permanent irreconcilability into the . . . order, since the enemy of today almost invariably has to be your ally against the new aggressor who is liable to turn up tomorrow." Sometimes the threat is Germany or Japan, but again it may be the Soviet Union. Invariably the threat must be met but the mood in which one faces it is of the greatest moment. If one says this has no relevance to the present, then one forgets the wars of religion in which Protestants or Catholics, depending on one's loyalties, were regarded as the incarnation of diabolical evil. Then new days brought new preoccupations and new objectives until the passionate claims and aggressions of earlier times were looked upon with curiosity and dismay.

Books Received

U.S. Participation in the UN. Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1955. U.S. Government Printing Office. 277 pp. 70 cents (paper).

Stalin's Great Secret by Isaac Don Levine. Coward-McCann. 126 pp. $2.50.

Israel: The Eternal Ideal by Irving Miller. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 148 pp. $2.75.

Surprised by Joy by C. S. Lewis. Harcourt, Brace. 238 pp. $3.50.

Making Democracy Work by Francis Hankin. Public Affairs Press. 74 pp. $1.00.

Story of a Year: 1848 by Raymond Postgate. Oxford. 286 pp. $4.50.

Tomorrow's Faith Today by W. Norman Pittenger. Exposition Press. 68 pp. $2.50.

The Jordan Beachhead by James H. Kepler. Exposition Press. 204 pp. $3.00.

At Home in India by Cynthia Bowles. Harcourt, Brace. 180 pp. $3.00.

SUGGESTED READING

Hunza: Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas by John Clark. Funk and Wagnalls. 270 pp. $5.00.

A gripping story about a significant one-man technical assistance program.

Nationalism and Progress in Free Asia ed. by Philip W. Thayer. Johns Hopkins. 349 pp. $5.75.

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